

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MASERU 00843 01 OF 02 131449Z
ACTION AID-59

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 L-03 H-01 HA-05
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INRE-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 IO-13 /128 W
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O R 131320Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MASERU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8526
INFO AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY GABORONE UNN
AMEMBASSY MBABANE UNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 MASERU 0843

FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ECON, AF, LT, BC, WZ
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS PAPER SADAP

REF: STATE 88256,

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE SETS FORTH BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS AND GENERAL GUIDELINES THAT SHOULD GOVERN APPROACHES, DISCUSSIONS AND WORK PROGRAMS ON SUBJECT STUDY IN BOTSWANA, LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND (BLS). TEXT HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND CLEARED BY OSARAC, COUNTRY AID OFFICERS AND EMBASSY OFFICIALS. ACTION REQUESTED: (A) CAREFUL PREPARATION IN ADVANCE OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS BEING RAISED BY BLS OFFICIALS ON SADAP STUDY, ESPECIALLY US ATTITUDE TOWARD EXISTING OR PROPOSED MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS; (B) THAT ANY COURSE OF ACTION AVOID RAISING EXPECTATIONS OR IMPLICATIONS THAT WOULD IN EFFECT NEUTRALIZE PRIORITY STATE/ CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES OR TACTICS TO ACHIEVE THEM;
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PAGE 02 MASERU 00843 01 OF 02 131449Z

AND (C) THAT APPROACHES BE TAILORED TO RESPECT OTHER DONOR PRIMACY AND RECOGNIZE THE RISKS OF US GETTING OUT IN FRONT.
END SUMMARY.

2. BACKGROUND. (A) SADAP WILL BE VIEWED BY MOST OFFICIALS IN BLS COUNTRIES AS ANOTHER IN A SERIES OF NATIONAL AND SECTOR STUDIES, ANALYSES AND REPORTS ON THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

CARRIED OUT OVER RECENT YEARS BY VARIOUS TEAMS AND ORGANIZATIONS: NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL AND PRIVATE. A NUMBER OF SUCH STUDIES ARE IN PROGRESS ON SPECIFIC PROJECTS, E.G., THE LESOTHO PROGRAM CONSISTS LARGELY OF STUDIES. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WILL BE INTERESTED IN WHAT DISTINGUISHES SADAP FROM THOSE ONGOING AND OTHERS THAT HAVE PRECEDED IT;

(B) BLS GOVERNMENTS WILL BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN RELEVANCE OF SADAP TO CURRENT POLICIES AND PROJECTS THAT HAVE DEVELOPED OUT OF THEIR NATIONAL EXPERIENCE AND FELT NEEDS. IN BOTSWANA AND LESOTHO, FOR EXAMPLE, NEW INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS ARE AT THE STAGE OF FEASIBILITY STUDY OR DESIGN, WITH SWAZILAND ONLY A STEP BEHIND. BOTSWANA'S HIGHEST MID-TERM PRIORITY IS TO ASSURE CONTINUED SERVICE OF ITS RAILROAD LIFELINE, ITSELF THE OBJECT OF THIRD INTENSIVE STUDY IN AS MANY YEARS (THIS ONE BY UK FIRM OF TRANSMARK). GOL'S CURRENT AND FUTURE NEEDS RE SOUTHERN PERIMETER ROAD PROJECT ARE WELL-DOCUMENTED--AND A MATTER OF BOTH IMMEDIATE AND LONG-RANGE CONCERN. BOTSWANA AND SWAZILAND STILL LIST ROADS AS TOP DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. ALL THREE COUNTRIES HAVE LONG-RANGE LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION PROJECTS, INCLUDING HYDROELECTRICAL POWER SCHEME UNDER FEASIBILITY STUDY IN LESOTHO, ETC.;

(C) THE ATTITUDE OF THE US TOWARD MANY OF THESE PROJECTS HAS BEEN ONE OF SKEPTICISM, CRITICISM OR (IN SOME CASES) FRANK OPPOSITION--USUALLY ON SOUND ECONOMIC GROUNDS, SOMETIMES ALSO ON BASIS OF "NEW DIRECTIONS" MANDATE. HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS WILL BE INTEREST-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 MASERU 00843 01 OF 02 131449Z

ED, IN FIRST INSTANCE, IN LEARNING WHETHER SADAP PRESAGES A CHANGE IN US ATTITUDE TOWARD THOSE OR SIMILAR FUTURE PROJECTS. IN APPROACHING COUNTRY OFFICIALS, THEREFORE, WE SHOULD HAVE CLEARLY IN MIND HOW WE PROPOSE TO RESPOND TO LIKELY RENEWED REQUESTS FOR US PARTICIPATION IN THESE PRIORITY VENTURES. IN SO DOING, IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT WE HAVE HAD A GOOD DEAL OF SUCCESS IN GAINING UNDERSTANDING OF CONGRESS' "NEW DIRECTIONS" POLICY AND AVOIDING NON-VIABLE (E.G., HIGH RECURRENT COST) INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS THAT ARE NOT CLEARLY DEVELOPMENT CENTERED;

(D) AS INDICATED ABOVE AND AFFIRMED REFTTEL, FOCUS OF SADAP IS DEVELOPMENT. FOR BOTSWANA AND LESOTHO, HOWEVER, SECURITY AND STRIVING FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE COME FIRST AND DO NOT NECESSARILY OVERLAP, I.E., WHILE DEVELOPMENT USUALLY ENHANCES SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE, GOL AND GOB, WITH LIMITED RESOURCES, HAVE HAD TO SUBORDINATE FORMER TO LATTER. SUCCESSIVE FARAH MISSIONS AND REPORTS CONFIRMED BOTH GOL AND GOB IN THEIR VIEWS AND SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND PRIORITIES OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS. IF WE ARE TO AVOID A NEGATIVE CLIMATE FOR SADAP WE SHOULD HAVE IN HAND CAREFULLY PREPARED RESPONSES FOR HOST GOVERNMENTS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF US

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEIR PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS (CURRENTLY UNDER WAY, AND/OR OUTLINED IN DEVELOPMENT PLANS) FOR ENHANCING NATIONAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS DEVELOPMENT;

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PAGE 01 MASERU 00843 02 OF 02 131522Z
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 MASERU 0843

(E) CONGRESSIONAL MANDATES AND ITS POWER OVER PURSE-STRINGS ARE NOT UNFAMILIAR TO HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS. PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, CONGRESS' INFLUENCE IS NOT UNANIMOUSLY REGARDED IN BLS STATES AS REASSURING, I.E., "NEW DIRECTIONS" POLICY IS OFTEN VIEWED AS IMPEDING ESSENTIAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS; REPORTING REQUIREMENTS INCLUDING THOSE ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROVOKED DISTINCTLY ADVERSE REACTIONS FROM LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND. CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE HAVE BOTH EXPRESSLY LINKED AID LEVELS TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN AID RECIPIENT COUNTRIES. AS A MEANS OF ADVANCING OUR AGREED NATIONAL OBJECTIVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, WE HAVE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT AID TO LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND BE KEPT WITHIN PRESENT LIMITES. TO KEEP CONGRESSIONAL/EXECUTIVE BRANCH POLICY CONSISTENT WITH AGREED NATIONAL GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, I URGE THAT THESE LIMITS BE RESPECTED AND THAT PROMISES OR IMPLICATIONS OF INCREASED ASSISTANCE OR NEW PROJECTS IN THE FUTURE NOT BE ALLOWED TO UNDERMINE OR NEUTRALIZE OUR LEVERAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THE CONGRESSIONAL ANGLE SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE AND SENSITIVITY TO ALL ITS ASPECTS.

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PAGE 02 MASERU 00843 02 OF 02 131522Z

3. PRINCIPLES. (A) EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH BLS OFFICIALS SUGGESTS THAT, WHILE TAILORING OUR APPROACHES TO FIT CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE ARE BASIC PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD SERVE AS A GUIDE. THESE INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) THE MORE REMOTE OR ABSTRACT THE SUBJECT, THE LESS ONE CAN EXPECT GENUINE LOCAL INTEREST AND MOTIVATION IN DEALING WITH IT. TO THE DEGREE THAT SADAP OBJECTIVES CAN BE RELATED TO HOST COUNTRY PLANS AND PROJECTS (ACTIVE AND POTENTIAL, OUR CHANCES INCREASE OF AROUSING RECIPROCAL INTEREST. THIS NORMAL MOOD OF PRAGMATISM OF MOST OFFICIALS IS CONSIDERABLY ENHANCED AT PRESENT BY URGENT, REAL PROBLEMS THEY FACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;

(B) ALL COUNTRIES WANT MORE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO MEET REAL (OR IMAGINED) GOALS. THE THREE BLS COUNTRIES ARE, IN THE OPINION OF MOST OBSERVERS, APPROACHING THE LIMIT OF THEIR ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY FOR ECONOMICALLY-VIABLE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. PARADOXICALLY, THE PROSPECT OF MORE AID WILL PROBABLY TURN OUT TO BE THE PRINCIPAL INCENTIVE OF HOST COUNTRIES TO COOPERATE WITH US. THE FACT THAT DONORS ARE COMPETING FOR "GOOD" PROJECTS IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES TENDS TO DILUTE THAT INCENTIVE;

(C) EVEN WHERE WE ENCOUNTER HOST GOVERNMENT INTERESTS, WE SHOULD BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH TRAINED LOCAL MANPOWER IS ABLE AND AVAILABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROPOSED SADAP ANALYSIS. BOTSWANA, AND TO A LESSER DEGREE LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND, ARE CANDID IN ACKNOWLEDGING AT LEAST PRIVATELY THEIR DEPENDENCE ON EXPATRIATE EXPERTISE IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. SOME OF THE "TARGET" MINISTRIES HAVE ONLY ONE OR PERHAPS TWO LOCAL OFFICIALS (SOMETIMES INCLUDING THE MINISTER) HANDLING BOTH CURRENT BUSINESS AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING. THE OBJECTIVE OF MAKING SADAP A COLLABORATIVE, COOPERATIVE EFFORT IS LIKELY TO BE FRUSTRATED IF IT DEPENDS UPON LOCAL INPUTS. OUR EXPECTATIONS SHOULD BE ADJUSTED

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PAGE 03 MASERU 00843 02 OF 02 131522Z

ACCORDINGLY;

(D) THE HIGHER RANKING THE HOST COUNTRY OFFICIAL TO BE VISITED, THE GREATER THE EXPECTATION AROUSED AND THE LESS THAT CAN BE EXPECTED IN TERMS OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION. IN PERHAPS A MAJORITY OF MINISTRIES IN THE THREE COUNTRIES, THE MINISTER IS BY NO MEANS THE BEST INFORMED OR MOST EFFECTIVE CONTACT. AS A MATTER OF TACT, I HAVE SUGGESTED INITIAL SOUNDINGS AT PERMSEC LEVEL. HE OR SHE WILL NORMALLY REFER SUBJCT TO PLANNING OFFICERS FOR CONSIDERATION BEFORE IT GOES TO HIGHER LEVELS WHERE GREATER EXPECTATIONS ARE

AROUNSED.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: (A) GUIDANCE ASAP FOR USE IN RESPONDING TO HOST GOVERNMENT INQUIRIES (ALREADY AROUSED IN SOME INSTANCES BY INITIAL APPROACH), ON US ATTITUDE TOWARD MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, INCLUDING THOSE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ENHANCING SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS DEVELOPMENT;

(B) FURTHER GUIDELINES ON HOW WE CAN AVOID NEUTRALIZING HIGH PRIORITY STATE/CONGRESS-APPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES IN LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND GIVEN SADAP IMPLICATIONS OF HIGHER AID LEVELS.

5. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED TO APPROPRIATE EUROPEAN POSTS.
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